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Some Aspects of Rural Economy in Punjab

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FOREWORD.

The Punjab makes one think of the mighty rivers now harnessed by superb engineering in canals to serve ten million acres, one-half of which was virgin soil a generation back. The canal colonies have been lauded as the most prosperous agricultural area in India—if not in Asia. This study gives us another side of this picture. The study by no means claims to be typical, but nevertheless is fairly representative of conditions widely enough prevalent in the canal colonies to merit serious attention. Water-logging, sour lands, malaria, heavy taxation, low prices, absentee landlords, dispirited tenants, serious drop in both population and cultivated area and conditions slowly worsening make us sit up and wonder what is happening. All this is not based on hearsay or gathered from reports but is a first-hand study of a village—Haripur—45 miles west of Lahore in the Sheikhupura District—made by a Punjabi student gifted with rare powers of observation and analysis.

Here is an arresting sentence taken from this study ; "Whereas the cultivator's income is determined by two highly varying and uncertain factors, the yield of produce and the price of produce, he must contribute a relatively unvarying and certain amount to the coffers of the state". Here is the proof—in 1927-28 the yield of wheat per acre was 1/1-8 mds., (owing to pests) while in 1928-29 it was 18 mds. per acre; in 1927-28 the price of wheat was Rs.4/8 per md. while in 1930-31 it was only Rs. 1/2/6 per md. The *rabi* total of taxes in 1929-30 was Rs. 7,245 and in 1931-32 was Rs. 2,943 (in this year there was a great shift from *nahri* cultivation paying water rates to *barani* paying none; also the tax is levied upon kinds of crops sown which in *barani* cultivation are less valuable). But while yield fluctuated by 1700% and prices by about 400%—taxes only differred by about 245% and that very largely because people refused to buy canal water. The total tax remission from December 1930 to June 1932 amounted to Rs. 2247/12/6. The incidence of tax per matured acre fell from Rs. 8/14/3 to Rs. 6/5/8. The income from an acre of wheat had dropped from Rs. 22/4/4 to Rs. 9/1/8 while the taxes on that acre dropped from Rs. 6/0/10 to Rs. 4/8/0 or the percentage demand rose from 27% of the gross income to 50%. This of course left the tenant with no net income at all as it costs him more than Rs. 4/8/0 per acre to grow wheat. This is the sort of inducement that explains the enormous sales of gold from the canal colonies which started in the winter of 1931-32 and have gone on for three years until the countryside has been largely stript of gold.

The average *nahri* and *barani* areas in the two quinquenniums 1920-21 to 1924-25 and 1925-26 to 1929-30 and the last three years were as follows :—

		Cultivated area in acres	
		Nahri	*Barani*
1920-21 to 1924-25	—	1197	290
1925-26 to 1929-30	—	1082	334
1929-30	—	907	249
1930-31	—	845	269
1931-22	—	532	346

These figures particularly those of the last year show a real shift from *nahri* to *barani* cultivation, which must be due in great part to the decreased profits caused by the high canal water rates.

A large area has become water-logged and a heavy alkali crust has formed which effectively prevents all cultivation therein. This is due to over-irrigation in early years, to canal seepage, to lack of all natural or artificial drainage and to a steadily rising underground water-table. It is well that people's attention is called to such disconcerting facts. Large areas of lower and western Bengal have been rendered unfit for cultivation by waterlogging within the past 70 years. It seems equally certain that Mesopotamia and other fertile areas of the world have in the past centuries been totally ruined by waterlogging and the collection of salts which prevents cultivation. We cannot look with much satisfaction on our present prosperity, such as it is, if it means rural decay in another 50 years from now. Thus in 1900 the total cultivated area was 1810 acres, but in 1930-31 it was only 1332 aeres or 478 acres less.

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This is not a village in the sense ordinarily used in the larger part of the Punjab of one central *abadi*, or settlement, with surrounding fields, but in this village there are six separate hamlets, four of them being mere clusters of tenants' huts, while in two of them the landlord also is present and occupies a slightly more pretentious abode. The original grantees were five members of the Sikh smaller gentry and one Hindu. In Nazirwala an owner is living and keeps a vigilant eye on his tenants. In Tarewala the aged widow of Sardar Tara Singh is still living with some old retainers who help her to maintain an autocratic hold on all those around her. In the other four hamlets the owners do nothing except to collect their rents Under them contractors take cash leases for considerable areas which they in turn sub-let to yearly tenants on the half-*batai* system. Thus landlords get an assured income and are saved the trouble and annoyance of personal supervision. As there is absolutely no public spirit or public opinion in such communities the result is that tenants who are the only actual cultivators of course fare very badly. They are in 4 of the 6 *abadies* heavily in debt to the landlords or to their agents and after the division of the crops on the thresing floor they arc left barely enough to keep body and soul together until the next harvest.

Such is the general picture of this village. Many villages in this canal area are much more prosperous, but low prices, heavy taxes, heavy debts and general rural social dis-integration——these forces are operating widely throughout the Punjab countryside.

November 2, 1934. E. D. LUCAS.

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PREFACE.

This little book, if it deserves that dignified name, is being published as it was written two years ago in the form of a thesis for the M. A. degree in Economics. The facts and figures presented relate to a period when the agricultural depression in the province had touched its depths. Conditions have not materially changed since, and in any case it has been thought advisable to give this monograph out in its original form.

I may here express my grateful thanks to Dr. Lucas for carefully going through the whole work and kindly contributing a valuable Foreword, to Prof. Brij Narain for encouraging me in its publication, and to Prof. Bhupal Singh for kindly seeing to the press arrangements.

LAHORE:
Dated 20th December 1934.

B. K. MADAN.

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INTRODUCTION.

The following pages record the results of an enquiry conducted into the economic conditions of a village in the Sheikhupura District. Attempt has throughout been made to set forth as precisely as possible the facts ascertained as well as the conclusious and observations suggested. It might be well to indicate briefly at the very outset the plan of the thesis.

The first chapter opens with a rapid glance at the past and traces the skeleton sketch of a process of decline, whose course is writ large on the face of the village and is breathed out by its very atmosphere. It is suggested that the village illustrates on a small scale a tendency more widely operative. The problem of water-logging is touched in passing. Inasmuch as a knowledge of the past is necesaary to an understanding of the present this rapid glance provides an avenue of approach to the rest of the account. Other facts of note in the general survey are the peculiar physical aspect of the village, which is not a compact whole, but is scattered; the peculiarity of agricultural organization, the big landlord standing face to face with the yearly contract tenant; the total absence of peasant proprietors; the lack of a proper equipment of village artisans.

The second chapter deals with Land Revenue and Taccavi. Taccavi is only conspicuous by its absence. Apart from the average incidence of Land Revenue and Occupiers' Rates in the past and present, attempt has been made to assess the real burden of the total Government Demand as it operates on a field of one acre sown with different crops. Allowance has been made for remissions in each case. Positive evidence of the serious effects of an increase in the real burden of the Demand has been adduced in the appreciable reduction of the cultivated area, accompanied by a considerable substitution of *barani* for *nahri* cultivation.

In the chapter on yields which follows, the Director of Land Records' Estimates, the Settlement Officer's assumed yields, the Zemindars' opinions about the yields, the crop experiments of which

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the Settlement Officer's assumed yields were the result, and the prices of important staples asssumed for the determination of land assessment are collated and brought together. They afford interesting comparison.

Finally, there is the chapter on Rents. Interesting variations in the relations between tenants and landlords are noticed from one *abadi* to another, and some aspects of absentee landlordism are incidentally revealed. Behind these varieties of shade lies the broad back-ground of the general similarity of conditions with regard to the rights and privilleges of tenants, and the ubiquitous half-*batai* rate.

Such in brief outline are the salient features of the account that follows.

CHAPTER I.

GENERAL

Situation and Surroundings:

The village Haripur or Chak 6 is situated in the Khangah Dogran Tehsil of the Sheikhupura District. It lies almost mid-way between two railway lines—the Wazirabad-Lyallpur and Lahore-Lyallpur lines, which converge at Sangla. It is thus almost equidistant (5 to 6 miles) from three railway stations, Marh Balochan and Sukheki on the former line to the north, and Dhaban Singh on the latter line to the south. Haripur is fairly fortunate in the matter of access to external markets, though no regular road connects it with any of the railway stations. Khangah Dogran is 5 miles away to the east and a kacha road leading from Khangah Dogran to Marh Balochan and on to Sangla passes along the northern border of the village. Sangla is only 8 miles to the west, and within easy reach. Other markets which are the occasional and comparatively infrequent resort of the cultivator are Gojra and Lyallpur, 66 and 36 miles, respectively from the village. Chuharkana is not very far off (16 miles). Nevertheless the condition of the kacha road is deplorable during the rainy season when it is almost impassable. During the rest of the year the accumulation of a layer of 6 to 8 inches of dry dust leaves much to be desired.

As a glance at the village map will show, the village is bounded on the north by Chak Bijwana, the whole of which belongs to one S. B. Amin Chand, a rich landlord and Chaddar Chak belonging to S. Hari Singh. Towards the east is Mangat, with a population of fairly over a thousand, inhabited by Janglies, the original inhabitants of this tract. Prior to colonization in 1892, the Janglies roamed freely over the wide waste and reckoned their wealth in flocks and herds. Even now they make large profits by the sale of ghee and by horse-breeding. For a long time they lagged behind the immigrants of every class in the knowledge of agriculture. But now they have taken kindly to it and are gradually growing used to settled modes of living. Their dwellings are models of cleanliness and order and their leading men are extremely agreeable.

Towards the south of Haripur lies Gobindgarh, with a population of some 1200 people, inhabited by *Mazhabi* Sikhs, a species of criminal tribe, including discharged soldiers, who were granted squares of land in order to wean them from their low, disorderly habits of life. As cultivators they are slovenly and unskilful and have nothing to recommend

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them. They are addicted to theft, drink and crime. Gobindgarh has a Middle School, the nearest to Haripur. Just on the fringe of the western border of Haripur, lies Amarkot with 800 inhabitants. It has a Primary School and a Post Office, the nearest to our village.

The Village Proper:

Haripur or Chak 6, the village under survey, as well as the Rakh Branch Circle in which it is situated, was colonized in 1892. Raja Naurang Zeb, Colonizing Officer of Chakwal, was responsible for the establishmnt of Haripur. This whole tract was among the earliest areas to be colonized.

Haripur is known after its largest single owner at the time of colonization, S. Hari Singh. The land was either auctioned at cheap rates and acquired by big zemindars, on it was granted to substantial men in lieu of services rendered by them to the Government. The important result follows that Haripur by no means satisfies the traditional cant that prefaces most surveys of Indian villages that the village under survey represents the "norm" or type to which conditions in all villages in the area tend to approximate. In the first place, its very name is a misnomer, for the village is not situated on a compact site. It is in fact divided into six separate *abadis*, widely apart from one another and made up of small aggregations of kacha homesteads. Thus Haripur technically so-called actually comprises Haripur proper (hereafter referred to as "Haripur") originally belonging to S. Hari Singh; the *abadi* belonging to S. Sujan Singh, known as "Chak 6"; Tarewala, belonging till some years ago to S. Tara Singh, now deceased; Nazirwala, known after its original grantee, who was one Nazir; and Labh Garh and Durlabh Garh, named after two of their owners, Labh Singh and Durlabh Singh. Thus a peculiarity of physical aspect corresponds to, and, indeed, is a reflection of a peculiarity in the organization of agriculture, viz., the total absence of the class of small peasant proprietors, who form the backbone of the agricultural population in the province. On the one side stands the big landlord, who is in most cases an absentee, reminiscent in this respect of the Bengali zemindar; on the other side is the yearly contract tenant with no security of tenure, sharing the produce of the earth and his labour equally with his absentee employer. While, however, most of the landlords live up to the exalted tradition of their Bengali compeers, by serving as distant siphons drawing in rent through a hierarchy of sepoys and munshis, in two cases the personal supervision and intelligent direction of the landlords is spared to spur the tenants to care and industry. In Tarewala reigns the vigilant eye of the Mai Sardarni, verging on ninety; and close by, in Nazirwala, J. N., an owner, takes active interest in the tenants' work. The variety of conditions thus presented affords an interesting comparison and much food for reflection.

Another interesting peculiarity about the village is that it possesses less than its proper equipment of village artisans, the indispensable accompaniment of a typical village economy. This characteristic is itself the result of the small size of the *abadis* and the wide distances separating them, so that they are nearer to some one or other neighbouring village than to one another. Their requirements in this respect are more or less supplied by other villages in close vicinity. The *abadis* themselves are little more than clusters of tenants' houses, with hardly a lane between them. Or they form a string of houses about a big courtyard, some facing inwards, and others outwards, their backs joined together. In Tarewala and Nazirwala the owners also have their modest mansions in close contiguity with the tenants' houses. They are little different in outward aspect from the latter, though they are more commodious and airy.

A Glance at the Past—A Process of Decline

Population:

Below are given the statistics of population since 1901. They are taken from the census returns as recorded in the Village Note Book. The latest figures, those of 4th March 1933, were obtained by myself after personal investigation.

Table I—Showing Population since 1901.

Year.	Muslims. M. F.	Hindus. M. F.	Sikhs. M. F.	Christians. M. F.	Total. M. F.	Total.
1901	758	244	50			1052
1911	388	133				521
1921					279 195	474
1931					235 188	423
1933 4th March.	123 103	27 17	35 31	17 19	202 170	372

Even a cursory glance at the figures of population in successive decades since the beginning of this century cannot help giving the impression that the village is fast heading towards virtual extinction. And the impression is *prima facie* not unjustified, though a more careful investigation

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into the causes of this rapid decline warrants the hope that this process will become slower, if it will not be completely arrested, with the passing away of the present depression.

When I questioned J. N., the resident land-owner in Nazirwala as to why this phenomenal decline had occurred, he gave a hearty laugh and being perfectly clear in his mind as to the meaning of the vast difference, apparently wondered at my stupidity. He presently burst out into a veritable panegyric of the good old days: 'You talk of the palmy days of yore. Gone are they and all they did connote. You look for the dead past. Little wonder you are thus disillusioned. Crowded times they were, but they are no more'; and he explained how Nazirwala was once many times as large as it was then. 'But why no more?' I hazarded, repeating my old query, 'where are the people fled?' 'Little water' was the curt reply and he went on: 'In the early spring of the century, the stream of water flowed full and strong. This was one of the areas to be first colonized. The swarm of colonists found here a halting place. As the stream of water directed hither ebbed and flowed on to new places and other lands (Sargodha, Montgomery, etc.) the colonists too, pinched by scarcity of water, abandoned their parched fields thirsting for moisture. Many moved on to other colonies (Sargodha or Montgomery), where they were granted squares of land, or bought some, if their purses were large enough. Who will serve another lord, when he can be his own master? Here, of course, they were mere tenants, with little security for their loaf of bread'. 'But', I went on to ask, 'here you must have enjoyed comparative immunity from the havoc wrought in our districts by plague, influenza, cholera, and malaria, the last of which particularly is with us in wet sub-montaine plains a chronic malady?' My question fell as a little cold douche on his high spirits, perhaps it revived unpleasant associations. He softly answered, 'We are no proof against Nature's wrath. The great scourge of plague paid recurrent visits in 1903, 1905 and 1907 in a very severe form and claimed whole families as victims. It re-appeared in a mild form in 1915. Influenza too ravaged this *ilaqa* in 1918, while yet the bugles of war had hardly been stilled. Haply, it was the dying echo of distant battle fields'.

The causes of the last decline (viz. from 1931 to 1933) will become clear presently.

Cultivated Area:

The above survey of the figures of population leads us to expect a corresponding decline in the cultivated area. Turning, therefore, to the area of the village and its distribution between the various uses we have the following figures:—

Table II.

Year.	Total Area in Acres	Uncultivated Area in Acres.			Cultivated Area in Acres.			Total Cultivated Area.	Percentage of cultivated area to total Area.
		Not available for cultivation.	Available for Cultivation.						
			Unappropriated Govt. waste.	Other	Chahi	Nahri	Barani		
1900	1957	71	5	71	—	1737	73	1810	*93*
Average of 1910-11 to 1914-15	1962	87	8	285	—	1356	226	1582	*80·6*
Average 1915-16 to 1919-20	do	87	8	617	—	1003	247	1250	*64·2*
Average 1920-21 to 1924-25	do	88	8	363	16	1197	290	1503	*76·6*
Average 1925-26 to 1929-30	do	88	31	415	12	1082	334	1428	*72·3*
1930-31	do	87	92	451	27	1010	295	1332	*67.9*

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It will be seen that the percentage of cultivated area to total area has shrunk by 25 per cent. in the course of 30 years, the percentage fall of cultivated area in 1930-31 over that in 1900 being as much as 27. It will be noticed, moreover that another process, that of substitution *of barani* for *nahri* cultivation has been going on side by side with that of decline of total cultivation. This brings into greater relief the scarcity of water above referred to. But, perhaps, the picture is not yet complete. For, in the above figures cultivated area includes land which has been lying fallow for as many as three successive harvests,* so that the effect of the recent depression is not fully brought out.

The same sad story as was related by the figures of population lies buried within the body of the above abstract statement. We could visualize a moving concrete picture, if we could fortunately possess ourselves of a field glass operating not indeed over space, but ranging back through time. Moved to a point where the hand of the instrument indicates the year 1900-01, we see a highly populous area, full of enterprizing colonists thrice the number of their present descendants, the distributaries of the canal brimming over with water and the cultivated area about half as much again as its present size. As the hand of the instrument moves and reflects conditions nearer us, we behold the stream of water, the great source of sustenance for life, both directly and indirectly, slowly contracting in the channels, the cultivated and cropped area steadily shrinking, the ranks of population thinning out, now gradually and at an even pace, again fitfully and spasmodically and at a greatly accelerated pace. As land goes out of cultivation and is abandoned to the care of Nature, it is covered with shrubs and bushes. If our machine were fitted with X-ray apparatus, we could perceive a steady rise in the level upto which the underground soil is completely saturated with water, or the spring level. When the sub-soil water has risen to within a short distance of the surface, we see it drawn up to the surface. Evaporation goes on while the salts contained in water remain deposited. The process is repeated for several years till the soil is covered with a layer of alkaline salts, lying like fresh fallen snow, often several inches thick. The land is now useless for cultivation. The soil once stiff and retentive of moisture becomes a loose mass of finely powdered dust. The whole area exhales a putrefying smell.

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*It is only when a piece of land has lain uncultivated for four successive harvests that it is included in uncultivated area, technically so called.

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As our instrument indicates the year 1929 and approaches 1930, the effects of the depression begin to show themselves and heighten the greyness of the picture. The hardship and privation entailed to a struggling tenantry quickens the process of thinning their ranks. Every next moment we behold a tenant piling up all his belongings on the wooden cart and wending his weary way back to his ancestral home in the sub-montaine districts of eastern Panjab, or venturing forward with the advancing tide of colonists farther down the lower reaches of the rivers.*

A brief visit to "Haripur" will corroborate the substance of the process traced above. Approaching the long mouldering wall that borders the *abadi*, the visitor has a vague presentiment of what he is to witness within. Entering by a fairly broad opening in the wall, he is face to face with the spectacle of long rows of single-roomed *kacha* houses, once the busy abode of prosperous tenants, now wearing all the marks of Goldsmith's Deserted Village—dilapidated and crumbled mounds of barren dust. The old weaver will be seen working at his loom. The khatri mindful of old bygone days is gaping into the air with a blank stare—in vain, for no one will turn up. Four tenants are all who are left of the vast train of two scores. Poor old Rip Van Winkle did not return to his village with a greater sense of wonder and regret than is felt by the old inhabitants of "Haripur" at the devastation worked by the passage of years.

I have traced thus at length the process of decline of population and cultivation in the village, in the first place, because it is the most note-worthy feature that arrests the attention of even a casual observer; secondly, because the village, despite its peculiarities noted above, is in this respect illustrative of a tendency widely operative in the *earlier* established canal colonies. The perplexing dilemma of (1) a scarcity of water, co-existing with (2) the serious problem of water-logging incidentally brought out, urgently calls for effective solution, or it will exact speedy retribution. I revert to this latter problem presently. First, let us look a little more closely into the kinds of soil.

Kinds of Soil:

The classification of the soil into *Nahri* (irrigated by canal water), *Barani* (irrigated by rain water) and *Chahi* (irrigated by well water) has been noted above. From another point of view the kinds of soil in the village may be broadly divided into four: *maira*, *retli* or inferior *maira*, *rohi* and *kallarathi*. *Maira* covers a considerable area. This is a soil of light composition with a perceptible admixture of sand which retains moisture well and is favourable to heat. It is suitable for *barani* cultivation. *Retli* or inferior *maira* with an excess of sand also covers a small portion. Altogether the two classes account roughly for one-fourth of the village area. *Kallarathi* gives the village an unenviable prominence, for which good *rohi* which accounts for almost half the village area is scarcely a compensation. The latter denotes a stiffish loam of close texture with very durable qualities which produces splendid crops. The village is on the whole not remarkable for the quality of its soil. For a fairly large portion, one-fourth, is of a characteristically light and sandy quality, and about as much is worthless for cultivation being covered with *kallar*.

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*When I visited the village in the first week of March, Fateh Din, a tenant at Haripur, was about to leave with all his possessions for Bahawalpur where he had been granted ½ square of land.

Water Logging:

It is a truism that canal irrigation has conferred an inestimable boon on the cultivator. In one word, it has made life possible where it was impossible before. But its rapid development has given rise to one most serious problem which is a threatening menace to the fertility of land and agricultural population and to the general health of the population—the problem of water-logging. Water-logging refers to the rise in the level of sub-soil water which renders land unfit for cultivation. The approach of the danger is marked by certain well-known stages. At first, for one or two years, barani crops are unusually successful and there is a spontaneous growth of a rich crop of *maina*. In the third year patches of *kallar* (salts) begin to appear on the affected fields, and seed does not germinate on these patches. Yields begin to diminish and the patches extend until they cover the whole field. This is the stage which the process has reached in Haripur. In course of time, depressions may become permanently damp, and may be transformed into stagnant pools of water of a rusty colour, and the land which is now covered with *kallar* may be turned into a swamp. Already the houses in "Haripur" have begun to crumble, and drinking water tastes raw.

One of the most potent causes of water-logging is the wasteful methods of irrigation practised by the cultivator.* Partly, however, it is due to the inherent nature of canal irrigation. For while the well water that sinks to the water-table is itself drawn from the sub-soil supply, all the canal water that is used for irrigation represents an addition to the sub-soil supply.

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*Cf. Mr. Dobson's remarks in the Settlement Report of the Rakh Branch Circle: "There has been a prodigal waste of water."

The problem of water-logging is not insoluble. The question is one mainly of cost—that of finding the cheapest method of preventing an undue rise of the water-table. This may be done by pumping from sub-soil; by waterproofing the canals and distributaries; by improving surface drainage and sub-soil drainage through the construction of open drains along and at right angles to the canals; or by lying porous pipes under the fields to carry away the water percolating through them. But whatever the remedial measures adopted the cost will be heavy and the cultivator will have to pay more for water than he does at present.

Population—Present Distribution:

The following table gives the distribution of the population by age, sex, and religion.

Table III—Showing Distribution of Population by Age, Sex and Religion.

M—Male; F—Female

Religion.	Under 5		5-10		10-25		25-40		40-60		Over 60		Total		Total
	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	
Mohammadan	14	20	13	15	22	22	39	28	23	13	12	5	123	103	226
Sikh.	5	2	8	4	10	6	6	8	6	3	0	1	35	31	66
Hindu.	4	4	4	5	8	4	3	2	5	2	3	0	27	17	44
Christian.	4	4	1	6	5	3	5	4	2	2	0	0	17	19	36
Total.	27	37	26	30	45	35	53	42	36	20	15	6	202	170	372

An interesting feature about the disproportion between the sexes emerges from the above data. The number of males at all ages (202) is larger than the number of females at all ages (170). But the number of females under 25 is largen than the number of males of an equivalent age. The latter disproportion is much more marked for children under 10, and still more marked for children under 5. It follows that both the birth rate and the death rate for females is higher than that for males, and that this high death rate for girls is particularly marked in their teens.

Age of Marriage:

The age of marriage for girls and boys among Mohammadans, who form the principal community, is from 17 to 20 years and from 22 to 28

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years respectively. If it is asked whether it is custom which fixes the age of boys for marriage so late, the answer is that if it is custom it is itself born of necessity. If a boy has the rare good luck of getting a bride earlier, he would certainly deem himself fortunate and no custom would obstruct his marriage. The age of marriage for girls and boys is very much the same for Sikhs and Christians, though in their case, as their numbers would show, marriages are few and far between. The age of marriage for Hindu boys and girls is comparatively lower, 16 to 19 for girls and 22 to 25 for boys. If we look for the reason of this difference, we find that it is not the difference of community that by virtue of distinct customs makes for differences in age of marriage. It is the economic status of the parents that is the real decisive factor in determining the age of marriage; particularly for boys. The occasion for deliberate postponement of the marriage of boys arises only in the case of affluent Hindu landowners, who are influenced in this not so much by necessity as by the thought of selecting promising careers for their sons.

Size of Average Family:

The size of an average family for different communities and for the total population is indicated below:—

	Persons.	*Families*	*Average size of Family.*
Mohammadans.	226	45	4·1⅓
Hindu.	34	10	3·4
Sikh.	66	13	5·08
Christian.	36	6	6
Chamar.	10	2	5
Total.	372	76	4·9

Extent of Dependence on Agriculture:

The following Table sets forth the extent of the dependence of different classes of people on agriculture:—

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Table IV.—Showing Extent of Dependence of Different Classes on Agriculture.

Number of (a) Persons (b) Families.

Serial No.	Class.	Wholly dependant on Agriculture.		Partly dependant on Agriculture.		Independent of Agriculture.		Total.	
		(a)	(b)	(a)	(b)	(a)	(b)	(a)	(b)
1	Hindu	2	1	10	2	22	7	34	10
2	Mohammadan Tenant	166	27	19	5	—	—	185	32
3	Sikh Tentant	12	2	10	2	—	—	22	4
4	Sikh Munshi	12	2	—	—	—	—	12	2
5	Sikh Owner	3	1	—	—	—	—	3	1
6	Mohammadan Labourer	8	3	—	—	3	2	11	5
7	Sikh Labourer	24	5	—	—	5	1	29	6
8	Christian (Esai)	—	—	36	6	—	—	36	6
9	Chamar	—	—	10	2	—	—	10	2
10	Lohar and Tarkhan	— —	— —	— —	— —	3 7	1 1	3 7	1 1
11	Weaver	—	—	—	—	2	1	2	1
12	Penja	—	—	—	—	3	1	3	1
13	Potter	—	—	3	1	—	—	3	1
14	Mochi	—	—	9	1	—	—	9	1
15	Faqir	—	—	—	—	1	1	1	1
16	Sepoy	2	1	—	—	—	—	2	1
	Totals.	229	42	97	19	46	15	372	76

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The extent of the dependence of a person on agriculture affords no precise clue as to his status with respect to land. A person may be wholly dependent on agriculture (or for the matter of that partly dependent on agriculture) and may be either a rent-receiving owner, or an actual cultivating owner, or a rent-paying tenant, or labourer, or he may be none of these, but merely an agent or munshi of the rent-receiving owner who is paid out of the proceeds of the produce of land.

The number of rent-receivers only (non-cultivating owners) resident in the village is 4, and including their dependents is 15.

There is no actual cultivating owner in the village. The rent-receiving owners are however in part actual cultivators, since they do not let out the whole of their land, but keep some portion to be cultivated by labourers under their direct superintendence.

The number of rent-payers (tenants) only is 40 and including their dependents is 239.

The number of persons and families of field labourers respectively is 58 and 12.

The number of persons and families of other labourers, is 8 and 3.

The remaining classes from No. 10 to No. 16, as well as No. 4 in Table IV above, are independent of agriculture with no status in regard to land, except in the case of No. 13, which is potter-*cum*-tenant and No. 14 which is cobbler-*cum*-tenant.

Cottage Workers, Artisans and Field Labourers:

The number of persons and families respectively, whose chief means of livelihood is a cottage industry are: Blacksmith and Carpenter, 10 and 2; Weaver, 2 and 1; and *Penja*, 3 and 1—15 persons and 4 families in all.

	Persons.	Families.
Lohar and Tarkhan	10	2
Weaver	2	1
Penja	3	1
Total	15	4

The number of persons and families respectively of artisans in the village are: potter—3 and 1, cobbler—9 and 1, or 12 and 2 in all.

The number of persons and families respectively of field labourers in the village are: Sikh, 24 and 5; Mohammadan, 8 and 3; Christian, 26 and 4, or 58 persons and 12 families in all.

	(a)	(b)
Sikh	24	5
Mohammadan	8	3
Christian	26	4
Total	58	12

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The number of persons and families respectively (of tenants) whose principal means of livelihood is agriculture, but who depend upon other occupations such as *gadda* hire services, tending sheep, field labour, service, etc., to supplement their income from agriculture are: Mohammadan, 19 and 5; Sikh, 10 and 2; Christian, 12 and 2; and Chamar, 10 and 2; which makes 51 persons and 11 families in all.

The number of persons and families respectively, whose principal means of livelihood is any occupation other than agriculture, but who follow agriculture as a subsidiary calling are: potter (*ghumar*), 3 and 1 and cobbler (*mochi*), 9 and 1, or a total of 12 persons and 2 families.

	(a)	(b)
Potter (Ghumar)	3	1
Cobbler (Mochi)	9	1
Total	12	2

The landlords of the village are, as has been already remarked mostly absentees paying an occasional visit once or twice a year to their estates. This is the case in "Haripur", "Chak 6", Labh Garh and Durlabh Garh and in the case of one *patti* (share in ancestral land) in Nazirwala. One of the landowners in Nazirwala who has been regarded above as a resident of the village, but who normally spends the larger part of the year outside the village, is a teacher in an educational institution at Lahore.

There are 6 families of Hindu money-lender-*cum*-traders, consisting of 19 persons. None of these pays any income tax.

Tenants' Round of Yearly Work:

It was only after repeated and insistent queries that I could evoke a half-willing admission from either tenant or zemindar that the former had some spare time or a slack season during the year. To some extent this might be ascribed to an instinctive reluctance to wear the badge of idleness. Nevertheless, the conclusion forces itself irresistibly on the mind of any careful inquirer that a tenant who has to cultivate from 8 to 14 acres of land, fairly well supplied with canal water is less likely to have leisure time on his hands than the cultivator in old villages with hardly 2 to 3 acres of land. Below is indicated the usual yearly round of operations, month by month, which occupy a cultivator's time and energy:—

1. December-January (Poh).	Watering *Toria* and Wheat; pressing *kamad* (or sugar-cane).
2. January-February (Magh).	Preparing soil for cotton and *kamad* and manuring soil for *kamad*; watering wheat; harvesting *toria*.

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3. February-March (Phagan).	Preparing soil for cotton; sowing *kamad*; watering wheat; harvesting *toria*.
4. March-April (Chet).	Sowing cotton; weeding *kamad*; reaping barley.
5. April-May (Baisakh).	Reaping wheat and barley; weeding *kamad* and cotton.
6. May-June (Jeth).	Threshing and winnowing wheat; ploughing cotton; watering *kamad*.
7. June-July (Asarh).	Ploughing for wheat and for *toria*; watering *kamad*.
8. July-August (Sawan).	Ploughing for wheat and for *toria*; watering cotton and *kamad*.
9. August-September (Bhadon).	Preparing soil for wheat; sowing *toria;* watering *kamad*.
10. September-October (Asuj).	Watering for wheat and sowing wheat; picking cotton; watering *kamad*.
11. October-November (Kartik).	Picking cotton; reaping and pressing *kamad*; watering *toria*.
12. November-December (Maghar).	Pressing *kamad* and making *gur*; watering *toria* and wheat.

Leisure Hours—How Spent:

The tenants have a brief slack season after harvesting wheat and before the break of rains as well as when the rains are in earnest. December and January are also months of comparative idleness, for pressing of sugar-cane and watering the fields does not occupy the whole of the tenant's time. Besides the tenants have spare hours every day almost all the year round. It has been observed that tenants do no productive work during this time. They want some respite at the end of a hard day's toil and relish greatly the delight of a quiet evening. During the comparatively slack season, they sit together and take their turn at the *hukka,* while a confused welter of voices mingle in the gossip that beguiles the tedium of their long idle hours. Occasionally, however, they take to some odd little job such as making ropes, or repairing their house. On the whole it may be said that whatever spare time (from 100 to 120 days) the tenants have on their hands slips surreptitiously through their fingers and does not add to their means by a tithe.

The tenants are almost entirely dependent upon agriculture for their livelihood; the soil is practically the sole source from which all their sustenance springs. Some tenants, however, 2 in Tarewala and 4 in "Hari-ply their *gaddas* for occasional hire chiefly during the season when wheat is transported to the *mandi* for sale. (2 annas per maund is charged for carriage to Sangla, 8 miles away). An occasional sale of a seer or two of ghee supplements their scanty means.

Village Artisans and Kamins: Their Earnings and Place in Village Economy:

The two classes of artisans, who are the indispensable accompaniment of the premier industry of the country, *viz.*, agriculture, are the *Lohar* (or blacksmith) and the *Tarkhan* (or carpenter). In the village under enquiry the work of both is done by two families of three brothers (only one of them is married) who live at Tarewala. They, however, are the *sepis* only of Tarewala and Nazirwala, the other *abadis* depending upon the neighbouring villages for their requirements in this respect.

The system of payment for the *Lohar* and the *Tarkhan* is similar in each of the five *abadis* which comprise the village. But the amount of payment or kind of crop in which payment is made varies slightly in the different *abadis*. The following fairly indicates the usual yearly payment for each of the two kinds of work or classes of artisans:—

	Lohar.	*Tarkhan.*
Kharif.	1. 2 seers of cotton per *hal*[*]. 2. 8 srs of gur per killa. 3. 1 seer gur per day of working at iron press.	1. 2 seers of cotton per *hal.* 2. 10 to 12 seers Bajra per *hal.* 3. 5 seers toria or 2 seers gur.
Rabi.	1. 12 to 15 seers of wheat grain per *hal.* 2. 1 bhari (containing 14 to 16 seers) of wheat. In Durlabh Garh, 2 bharies — *i.e.* in all about 1 maund per *hal.*	The same as to *Lohar.*

The *Lohar* and *Tarkhan* families above referred to do the work by *sep* (or customary contract) of 25 *hals*, on account of each of which they

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[*] Or plough, with two oxen and one man.

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receive the payments indicated above. Reckoning everything together at current prices their annual income from these customary payments comes to Rs. 150|-. But they also keep a *khras* (or wooden flour-mill) for grinding grain (the charges being 2 seers per maund). The *khras* is kept going almost all the year round, grinding at the rate of 1 maund of grain daily. According to a modest estimate their annual net income from this source comes to Rs. 30|-. The carpenter brothers (for two of the three brothers are carpenters) go to other villages also to perform skilled work. In addition they make a net income of Rs. 40|- from the sale of such things as *madhanis* (kinds of wooden rods for churning milk) *charkhas*, coloured *pawas* (feet of bed-steads), arms for bed-steads, and by sawing logs of wood.

Weaver:

There is a lonely old weaver, Alla Ditta by name, the only one in the village (who lives at "Haripur"). On account of chronic illness and other troubles in family, he is not able to accept even all the work that may be offered to him from his own or the adjoining villages. He charges Re. 1 for weaving every twenty yards of cotton cloth about 2 feet wide. Working all day he can weave from 5 to 6 yards of such cloth, and make 4 to 5 annas. But the work is intermittent and interrupted constantly by unforeseen and unexpected calls on his time. He hardly ekes out a bare pittance for all the work he can put in.

Cobbler:

There is only one *Mochi* in the village, Siraj Din by name, who lives at "Chak 6". He is an old man, and is also a tenant working on one *hal*, or 13 acres of land. The *mochi* does not get a fixed reward for his work. He sells new shoes for cash. The price for a pair varies according to the quality from Re. 1|- to Rs. 2|-. For repairing old shoes of tenants, however, he gets an annual payment in grain varying widely from 15 to 40 seers per *hal*, according to the number of shoes and the amount of work involved.

Potter:

There is only one *ghumar*, a brawny and robust youth, Ismail by name, who lives at "Chak 6". He combines his traditional calling with agriculture, which has in fact tended of late years to become his mainstay, for the market for earthen ware has shrunk greatly. Iron cans and aluminium ware are having increasing vogue. Formerly, the *ghumar* used to be a claimant for a share out of the common heap and was a *sepi*. Now he gets the price of his pots in cash according as they are sold.

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Hajjam or Nai (Barber):

Strangely enough, there is no *Nai* in the village. The one who caters for the custom of the village comes from the neighbouring village Bijwana. As has been said, no menial is paid out of the common heap. So the *Nai* is paid by each tenant or owner separately. The payment varies from 20 seers to a maund of grain or other produce according to the amount of work done. The amount of work done itself depends, of course, upon the number of members of a tenant's family. J. N. the only owner who resides at Nazirwala all the year round paid the *nai* one maund of produce—20 seers of wheat in *rabi,* and 20 seers of *bajra* in *kharif*—this year. The annual income of the barber from his *sep* comes to 25 to 30 maunds of grain. He supplements this income by working as a *lava* or reaper at the time of the wheat harvest. This brought him 5 maunds of wheat last year.

On occasions of marriage in a tenant's family, he is given from Re. 1|- to Rs. 2|- according to the capacity of the tenant's purse. Marriages in the owners' families are, of course, few and far between. The barber, however, makes as much as 5 to 10 rupees on each such occasion.

The Chuhra (or sweeper):

Each *abadi* has its own *chuhra* or sweeper who does not, however, always reside in the *abadi.* He does the usual work of sweeping the house floor of its dirt and dust, and clearing the cattle shed of dung which is daily thrown on to the heap of manure stacked just outside the inhabited area. The system of payment to the sweeper is by no means uniform. In Nazirwala, for instance, all the three owners paid Nikku, the sweeper, Rs. 6|- each this year i.e. Rs. 18|- in all. Nikku is, moreover, granted a free house site by the owners. It was already walled when given him and he roofed it himself with material taken from the owners. He occasionally takes a loaf of bread from the owner J. N. who resides in the village all the year. Now and again he earns a small tip for going to the railway station or on some other errand. He makes some 10 or 12 rupees annually by selling the skins of dead cattle, and about a third as much for mud-plastering the houses of owners. He also keeps cattle on the "adhyar" system. That is to say, he takes cattle when they are calves and either sells them to their original owner at appreciably more than half their actual price, when they are grown up, or pays their original owner appreciably less than their actual price. This gives him a good margin of profit, and amply remunerates him for his service of tending the young cattle. His net income from this source may be approximately put at Rs. 10|-. For a tenant's work Nikku gets 1 seer per every maund of his share. In Tarewala, similarly, the sweeper used to be

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paid 1 seer of grain for every maund produced; from this year, however, he will get 8 maunds of grain in all from the owner alone. Besides the regular annual wages as sweeper, the *chuhras* work as *lavas* or reapers during the wheat harvest and this brings them an additional 3 or 4 maunds of grain. A *chuhra* also serves as a *jhoka* (one who feeds the fire that heats the cane-juice into *gur*) and gets 1 seer per maund of *gur* prepared for this work, besides a *rori* (weighing about one seer) at the end of his day's work. The sweeper in Labh Garh nd Durlabh Garh, besides doing the above work, occasionally lends a helping hand to the tenants or those of them whose family members cannot do all the work, in their agricultural operations, *e.g.* ploughing, preparing the *khal* (or water channel) or watering the fields etc. He gets one-eighth of the grain that forms the share of each such tenant as his specific remuneration for this work.

It may be said that all *kamins* possess such rights, as gathering fuel from the waste, on taking water for drinking and other purposes, just as the tenants do.

On special occasions such as a marriage in the owner's family, the *kamins* all (or such of them as are there) get an additional 2 to 3 rupees and a feast from the owner. But this source of income is practically negligible as part of their annual earnings.

Field Labourers—Their Remuneration:

Generally the normal work of cultivation is performed by the tenants with the aid of their families and without any regular extra assistance. During the wheat harvest, however, extra reapers (or additional *lavas*) are engaged and the mode of remunerating their services has been indicated. It has been remarked how the sweeper who off and on lends his assistance to the tenants in Durlabh Garh all through the year is paid. The tenants take only as much land as they can cultivate themselves without regular outside help. There are, however, the owner cultivators, who themselves rarely put their hand to the plough but who employ labourers to do the work on a system of annual payment. There are 3 such labourers in Tarewala, each in charge of 1 plough. They are paid 30 maunds of grain in *hari* (or *rabi*) and in lieu of meals 30 seers of grain every month, besides clothes and shoes once every year. A small boy who grazes the owner's cattle (21 in all, oxen and cows, male and female buffaloes and calves) gets Rs. 2|- monthly, and meals daily. Other labourers also get *lassi* daily. In Durlabh Garh, there are 5 *kamas* for 4 *hals*, which the "owner" (or contractor) is represented as cultivating himself. The *kamas* are paid 42 maunds each annually, besides clothes and shoes twice every year.

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The labourers do not, either in Tarewala or in Durlabhgarh, keep any cattle themselves, but subsist solely on the yearly payment in grain made to them by their employers. They have the usual right of collecting fuel free —and free house sites and houses from the owner.

Lack of Education and Immobility:

There is no tendency for younger men to emigrate to the towns. Few of the tenants' boys, 3 in Nazirwala, 3 in Tarewala, 1 in Durlabhgarh (the Munshi's own boy) go to the Primary School at Amarkot, while one is reading in the 6th class at Gobindgarh. The tenants' boys usually begin early to render their fathers some aid in farm work, and can, therefore, be ill-spared to glean a smattering of the three R's. The boys, moreover, on giving up their studies, relapse again into illiteracy because they have learned to study only at school and forget all about the school as soon as they step within the precincts of home. I asked one Sher Mohammad, 16 years of age, who had studied up to the 4th Primary class and who gave up his studies two years ago, to read a postcard written in Urdu. He turned a stupid stare at the post-card and remained silent.

Some persons go out for occasional labour during parts of the year, ready to do all and sundry types of odd work, generally unskilled day labour, that may offer itself. But there is no tendency to quit home and venture permanently abroad in search of some new employment and a new abode. Some reasons at once suggest themselves, There is, in the first place, the hard fact that man and specially the Indian villager, is of all forms of baggage the most difficult to move because of his natural reluctance to tear himself from his familiar surroundings. There is secondly, the fact that the pressure on the land is not so heavy in this newly settled tract as it may be elsewhere. And finally, the towns in the immediate or near neighbourhood do not offer regular openings for employment in any industry. So that the villagers, on the whole, cling to their land, as limpets to the rock.

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CHAPTER II.

LAND REVENUE & TACCAVI.

Land Revenue Demand from 1892 to 1932:

The land revenue demand of the Government for the village is not a fixed demand, but one which fluctuates from year to year in accordance with the amount of area cultivated. It was early laid down by the orders of Government, on the method of assessment to be adopted for canal-irrigated villages "that *nahri* land should have fluctuating assessment at a rate which should be uniform for all crops." Since this method was laid down for *nahri* land, the *barani* land has also been made subject to the operation of the same rule.

The Rakh Branch Circle (as also the village Haripur) was colonized in 1892 when the first regular settlement was made and land was allotted at "concession rates" for 20 years upto *Kharif* 1912. The first revised settlement was conducted by B. H. Dobson, Settlement Officer, Lyallpur, in 1911-12 and was sanctioned from *Rabi* 1913 to *Kharif* 1932 for a further period of 20 years. As will be clear presently, the land revenue demand at this time was enhanced by a sudden bump, so that even the Settlement Officer was compelled to remark in his report that "Government must not expect that the announcement of the new demand will be received otherwise than with dissatisfaction". It might be of interest also in connection with the high pitch of the land revenue imposed at the last Settlement to take note of Mr. F. W. Fenton, Financial Commissioner's remarks in his Review of the Assessment Report of Mr. Dobson, which were to the following effect: "although the area to which the report related (the Rakh Branch Circle) did not exceed that of an average Tahsil, the land revenue at stake was in excess of that of any district of the province except Lyallpur itself". This Settlement (beginning with *Rabi* 1913) is still in operation at the present time and as yet March, 1933) no announcement has been made about the commencement of a second revised Settlement.

The following table has been compiled to show at a glance the scales of dues payable to Government at various times, excluding Occupier's Rate.

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Table V—Showing Changes in the Scale of Dues payable to Government from time to time.

Nature of payment.	Prior to imposition of Owner's Rate (1892.)	From the date in which Owner's Rate became due. (1902).	From the period of new assessment. (1913).	Now (1932)
	Rs. a. p.	Rs. a. p.	Rs. a. p.	Rs. a. p.
Land revenue —	0 8 0	0 8 0	5 0 0	4 8 0
Owner's Rate —	—	1 0 0	—	—
Cesses —	0 6 0	0 3 8$\frac{2}{5}$	0 10 0	0 12 7$\frac{1}{5}$
Malikana —	0 6 0	0 9 0	0 12 0	1 9 0
Total —	1 4 0	2 4 8$\frac{2}{5}$	6 6 8	6 13 7$\frac{1}{5}$

Owner's rate was imposed after ten years (*i.e.* in 1902) from the date on which the village was colonized (1892). At the same time *malikana* was raised to annas 9 per acre. Cesses were reduced to annas 3-8.2|5 from Rabi 1906: in the new assessment (1913) they are levied at the rate of 13.1|3 per cent of the demand. By an order dated 9-12-13 the land-revenue rate proper was reduced from Rs. 5|- to Rs. 4|8|-. In Rabi 1918, the cesses were raised to 17.1|2% of the Revenue Demand proper, which includes 12.1|2 per cent Local Rate and 5 per cent *Panchotra*. In Rabi 1924, the *malikana* was changed from 12 annas per acre to 6 annas per rupee *i.e.* 37.1|2 per cent of the Revenue Demand.

The assessment per acre on other classes of soil than *nahri*, which has been dealt with hitherto, imposed in the last settlement was:

	Barani.	*Chahi.*
Land Revenue.	0 12 0	1 4 6
Malikana.	0 4 6	0 7 8¼
Cesses.	0 2 1.1|5	0 3 7
Total.	1 2 7.1|5	1 15 9¼

Prior to the last settlement the Land Revenue Demand on account of *barani* land was the same as that on account of *nahri* land.

Incidence of Land Revenue per Cultivated Acre:

The incidence per cultivated acre of the present demand on each class of soil, as is clear from the above tables is Rs. 6-13-7.1|5, Rs. 1-2-7.1|5 and Rs. 1-15-9¼ on *nahri, barani* and *chahi* land respectively in 1932.

No portion of the present demand is deferred on account of protective well lease or any other causes.

Incidence per Acre of Occupier's Rates for Different Crops:

Whereas the Land Revenue rate is "uniform on all crops", the Occupiers' rate charged on canal irrigation varies with different crops. The Occupier's rate is levied per kanal, but I have shown it in the following table both as per kanal and as per acre, so as to make it comparable with the land Revenue Rate.

Table VI—Showing Occupier's rates charged on canal irrigation for each different crop.

Crop.	Occupier's Rate per kanal.			Occupier's Rate per acre.		
	Rs.	As.	P.	Rs.	A.	P.
Kamad.	1	8	0	12	0	0
Rice.	0	15	0	7	8	0
Cotton.	0	12	6	6	4	0
Vegetables.	0	11	0	5	8	0
Wheat and Barley.	0	10	6	5	4	0
Maize.	0	7	6	3	12	0
Toria, Sarshaf, Tara-mira.	0	8	6	4	4	0
Grams.	0	6	6	3	4	0
Masar and other pulses	0	5	0	2	8	4
Fodder Crops, (*Chari, Shalgam*, etc).	0	3	0	1	8	0
Other Crops.	0	3	0	1	8	0
Grass. (i)	0	3	0	1	8	0
(ii)	0	2	0	1	0	0

Incidence per matured Acre of Total Land Revenue Demand during Last 5 Years:—

We have known severally the various rates, Land Revenue, Cesses, *Malikana* and Occupier's rate, charged on different classes of soil as per acre, and varying in case of the last *viz.*, Occupier's rate, with different crops. It will be of interest, nevertheless, to know the *actual* average incidence of the total burden per acre in the last five years. The annexed table has been constructed to show what the village has paid during the past 5 years on account of (a) Land Revenue, (b) Cesses and (c) Occupier's Rates and (d) Total Demand.

Table VII.—Showing (a) Land Revenue (b) Cesses (c) Occupier's Rate and (d) Total Demand for 5 years from 1927-28 to 1931-32.

Year.	Land Revenue.			Cesses.			Occupier Rate.			Total.		
	Kharif.	Rabi.	Total.	Kharif.	Rabi.	Total.	Kharif.	Rabi.	Total.	Kharif.	Rabi.	Total.
1927-28.	1636	1719	3355	—	—	543	—	—	3784	—	—	7682
1928-29.	1583	3013	4596	—	—	764	—	—	5019	—	—	10079
1929-30.	1337	3487	4824	225	565	790	1689	3293	4982	3250	7245	10495
1930½31.	1202	2191	3393	204	357	561	1483	2605	4088	1939	5153	7092
1931-32.	1162	1409	2571	190	238	428	1408	1287	2695	2760	2943	5703
Total.	—	—	18739	—	—	3086	—	—	20568	—	—	42393
Average.	—	—	3748	—	—	617	—	—	4114	—	—	8479

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Table VIII.—Showing Area Annually Matured in Haripur from 1927-28 to 1931-32.

Year.	Kharif.			Total.	Rabi.			Total.	Total.			Total.	Average incidence per matured Arce.
	Chahi.	Nahri.	Barani.		Chahi.	Nahri.	Barani.		Chahi.	Nahri.	Barani.		
													Rs. as. p.
1927-28.	—	266	6	272	7	419	37	463	7	679	43	735	10 7 6
1928-29.	10	344	1	355	19	677	281	980	29	1028	282	1335	7 12 4
1929-30.	9	260	31	300	17	647	218	880	22	907	249	1180	8 14 3
1930-31.	1	278	72	351	19	567	197	783	20	845	269	1134	6 4 0
1931-32.	2	248	30	280	18	284	316	618	20	532	346	898	6 5 8
Average of 5 years.	—	—	—	311	—	—	—	745	—	—	—	1056	7 15 1

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The total sum paid by the village in Land Revenue, Cesses and Occupier's rates in the past 5 years is thus Rs. 42,393 or *Rs. 4,479 annually on the average.*

In the Table given on page 24 the matured area for each of the harvests during the past five years is shown.

The average of area matured annually during the last five years is thus 1,056 acres. The average of total Land Revenue paid annually during the last five years being Rs. 8,479|- as above calculated, the average incidence per matured acre is given by (Rs. 8479—1056) or Rs. 7-15-2.

The Real Burden of Land Revenue:

But the cultivator who grows (say) wheat on his land, and irrigates the land with water supplied by the canal, does not have to pay the Government demand according to the average incidence. Averages may be very useful for wider theoretical calculations, but they have limited immediate practical applicability. The cultivator pays the fixed land revenue demand per acre *plus* the Occupier's rate per acre for wheat, *as indicated above.* I have calculated elsewhere the tenant's and|or landlord's money income from a field of one acre for each of the last five years, for the five principal crops of the village. It will be interesting to place the actual (as distinct from the average) land revenue demand side by side with the actual money income of the tenant and examine the incidence as it operates in practice.

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Table IX.—Showing Percentage of Tenant's Share of Land Revenue and Occupier's Rate to Tenant's Gross Income from a one Acre field, for each of the Principal Crops.

Crop.	Tenant's Money Income from field of one Acre.			Tenant's share of Land Revenue and Occupier's Rate.*			Percentage of Demand to Tenant's Gross Income.		
	1929-30.	1930-31.	1931-32.	1929-30.	1930-31.	1931-32.	1929-30.	1930-31.	1931-32.
	Rs. a. p.	Rs. a. p.	Rs. a. p.	Rs. a p.	Rs. a. p.	Rs. a. p.			
Kamad —	13 8 0	39 12 0	27 0 0	9 6 9	8 12 6	8 15 0	*30*	*22*	*33*
Wheat —	22 2 4	9 1 8	16 14 0	6 0 10	4 8 0	4 14 6	*27*	*50*	*26*
Cotton —	13 8 0	15 12 0	27 0 0	6 8 10	4 15 6	5 0 0	*48*	*31*	*18½*
Toria —	16 3 10	15 12 0	15 12 0	5 8 10	4 14 6	5 1 0	*33*	*30*	*30*
Grams —	21 6 6	13 12 6	14 10 0	5 0 10	3 14 6	4 4 6	*24*	*28*	*32*

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* Remissions both for Land Revenue and for Occupier's rate have been allowed for in arriving at the above results.

It will be seen from the table what a high proportion the actual demand on account of land revenue and water rate bears to the tenant's gross income, being anything from one-fifth to one-third of it (excepting the wheat crop of 1930, when its price was extraordinarily low and when the land revenue absorbed *one-half* of the tenant's gross income). Comment is superfluous.

The high pitch of the land revenue and water rate combined with the rigidity and inelasticity of the demand serves to explain a noteworthy feature of the above table showing the area annually matured. There is a great and sudden diminution in the area under *nahri* cultivation, from 845 to 532 acres, and a corresponding considerable and sudden increase in the area under *barani* cultivation, from 269 to 346 acres, in the last year 1931-32. There was a decline in the total cultivated area from 1134 to 898 acres. This great diminution in the area under *nahri* cultivation is directly due to the high and unvarying water rate and land revenue demand on *nahri* cultivation in face of the extraordinary slump of prices. This is evidenced by the fact that a greater part of the diminution (from 567 to 384 acres) is accounted for by *Rabi* 1932 when the cultivated area was 284 acres as against 567 acres in the previous *Rabi*. Now this phenomenal decline was due to the fact that wheat was almost unsaleable in the previous year (its price being then as low as Rs. 1-2-6 per maund).

These are telling facts, patent to every observer who cares to look into the matter, and provide an explanation of the hardship and privation that has been the cultivator's lot during the days of depression. Whereas the cultivator's income is determined by two highly varying and uncertain factors, the yield of produce and the price of produce, he must contribute a relatively unvarying and certain amount to the coffers of the State.

Coercive Processes for Realization of Land Revenue:

Once only in the last five years has a coercive process been issued to secure the realization of the Government demand on account of land revenue and occupier's rate. A lessee did not pay dues amounting to Rs. 950|- in *Rabi* 1929 on account of 5 squares of land. The Zaildar who was responsible for the due payment of the land revenue into the Treasury sued the delinquent and put in a claim for Rs 1,500|- since, as he averred, he had to borrow the amount (*viz.*, Rs. 950|-) at a high rate of interest from a money-lender. The suit resulted in the acceptance of his claim. Generally, however, the land revenue is paid punctually and the Zaildar has not had in the past five years, to pay anything out of his own pocket, except in the case just cited when he successfully claimed more than half again as much as the original amount. Nor have the Lambardars had to pay anything out of their own pockets; though in a sense the Lambardars pay

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everything out of their own pocket, because four Zamindars out of the 5 *abadis* are their own Lambardars. The weak link in the chain of revenue collection are, however, the tenants, many of whom particularly in the *abadis* where they are indebted to the landlords, lead a hand to mouth existence, and on loosening their purse-strings find that the purses have dropped their bottoms. They are unable to contribute their quota and the zemindar who makes it up, debits the amount to the tenant's account.

Money for Land Revenue—How obtained:

How is the money for Land Revenue obtained? The question is not so simply answered as in the case of small resident owners or peasant-proprietors who depend upon the income of, or receipt from, the particular area of land in the village to which their ownership has reference, for discharging all obligations or out-goings on account of land revenue, interest, subsistence etc. The owners we have to deal with here are big, many of them indeed very big, and their independent sources of income are much larger than their income from the land in the village under survey. At any rate, all the owners are rich, with sufficient resources. Generally, therefore, they have not to sell their produce in order to meet the land revenue demand, but hold it up until the moment that price seems attractive enough. The tenants have, however, as in "Chak 6" and "Haripur", very often to make a forced sale in a depressed market, to meet the pressure of the land revenue demand, if all their share of the produce has not already passed into the *Khatri's* hands, in whics case they have to borrow afresh. In Nazirwala, however, the case is different. There when the produce is given to the *khatri* immediately after a harvest no rate or price is settled. The usual agreement is to give credit at the price at which the owners sell their share either in the village or in a mandi. In the latter case allowance is made for cartage and commission in the *khatri's* favour.

There is no co-operative society in or near the village.

Dates for Payment:

Land Revenue is realized in two instalments: In June and the end of December or beginning of January. There are no objections to the dates fixed for the payment of the instalments, partly for reasons which should be clear from the preceding paragraph, and mainly because there is plenty of time for the zemindars to bring in and dispose of the produce of both harvests in time to meet the payment, if they should at all have to meet the demand out of the receipts from the produce. The June demand can thus be easily met out of the sale proceeds of wheat, while with the advent of time for the payment of the December-January instalment, *Toria* has found buyers, cotton is commanding brisk sale, and the proceeds of the sugar-cane crop are also pouring in.

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Remissions and Suspensions:

This should not, however, lead to the impression that it is all smooth and plain sailing, and perpetual fair weather. For there is no escape from the effects of Nature's vagaries.

Beginning from *Rabi* 1928, there have been a number of remissions of land revenue and *abiana*. In *Rabi* 1928, the entire land revenue and *abiana* on wheat sown after the 30th November 1927 was remitted. A reference to the Chapter on Yields will reveal the fact that the wheat crop in that harvest was miserably poor. The whole crop was ruined by a kind of disease even while the grain was in stalk.

The next remission was granted in *Kharif* 1930, when 3 as. per rupee of land revenue and 5 as. per rupee of *abiana* for cotton only (excluding *moth*) were remitted. The total remissions on account of land revenue and *abiana* were Rs. 276-15-3 and Rs. 496-8-0 respectively. Scarcity of crop is assigned as the cause. In *Rabi* 1931 the remission of *abiana* was at the rate of 3 as. per rupee for wheat, and of land revenue 5 as. per rupee on all crops. The total remissions amounted to Rs. 380|- for *abiana* and Rs. 1088|9|- on account of land revenue.

In *Kharif* 1931, land revenue was remitted to the extent of 2 as. per rupee on every crop and *abiana* 3 as. per rupee on American Cotton and 2 as. per rupee on Desi Cotton. The total remissions on account of land revenue and *abiana* amounted to Rs. 184|4|- and Rs. 295|5|- respectively.

In *Rabi* 1932, remissions of land revenue on all crops and of *abiana* on wheat only were at the rate of 3 as. per rupee and Re. 1|- per acre respectively, and amounted in all to Rs. 368|3|3 and Rs. 160|1|- respectively. The last three remissions are due to the extraordinary slump in prices.

There have been no suspensions.

TACCAVI.

Taccavi is not to be heard of in the village. The reason is quite simple. Rich landlords with ample resources do not stand in need of *taccavi*, while tenants, with no right of property in land, and liable to eviction every twelve months are not eligible for its grant. The class of poor peasant proprietors, unable to meet their capital requirements from their meagre means, and having in their land a valuable asset as a basis of credit, for whom *taccavi* is properly meant (whatever its draw-backs even from their point of view) is totally absent in the village.

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CHAPTER III.

YIELDS.

Estimates of the Director of Land Records and the Yields assumed by the Settlement Officer:

The Director of Land Records issued his latest estimates of the yields of principal crops for the Sheikhupura Distirct in 1926-27 in lbs. per acre. But the Settlement Officer's assumed yields are in terms of seers per acre. Both the Director's estimates and the Settlement Officer's assumed yields have been reduced in the following tables to maunds per acre in order to make them comparable.

Table X—Showing Director of Land Record's Estimates of Yields in Maunds per acre of the Principal crops on different soils in Sheikhupura District.

	Class of Soil.	
Crop.	*Irrigated.*	*Unirrigated.*
Rice.	20.60	13.33
Wheat.	14.55	6.79
Barley.	10.90	6.06
Jowar.	6.06	5.09
Bajra.	5.80	4.10
Maize.	10.90	6.66
Grams	8.48	8.48
Rape-seed (*Toria*).	6.06	4.24
Sugar-cane (*gur*).	18.18	12.97
Cotton (cleaned) Desi.	1.45	.97
Cotton (cleaned) American.	1.45	.97

Table XI—Showing the yields in maunds per acre and the prices per maund assumed by the Settlement Officer at the last Settlement 1911-12 *for the Rakh Branch Circle in which Haripur is situated.*

Serial No.	Crop.	Yield in mds. per Acre.	Prices per Maund. Rs.	As.	P.
1.	Wheat	13	2	8	0
2.	Barley.	7.12	1	8	0
3.	*Jowar.*	7	1	12	0
4.	*Bajra.*	7	1	14	0

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5.	Maize.	13	1 9 0
6.	Grams.	9	1 12 0
7.	*Toria.*	7.5	3 9 0
8.	*Gur.*	18	4 0 0
9.	Cotton.	4	6 0 0
10.	*Til.*	3	4 0 0
11.	*Masar.*	8	1 8 0

There are certain other crops in case of which no definite yield, nor any definite price was stated as assumed, but the produce of which per acre was taken as worth a given sum. Thus:

Vegetables, Melons and Garden Produce.	Rs. 25|- per acre.
Hemp.	" 15|- " "
Tobacco.	" 40|- " "
Fodder Crops.	Rs. 15, Rs. 12|-, Rs. 10|- per acre.*
Straw (Wheat and Barley).	Rs. 5|- per acre.
" (Grams).	" 1|8|- " "
" (*Jowar*).	" 4|- " "

Inspection Note of Settlement Officer:

Mr. B. H. Dobson, then Settlement Collector, Lyallpur, who was responsible for carrying through the Settlement Operations in Rakh Branch Circle, paid a visit to the village, Haripur, on the 14th March, 1912. The visit was repeated shortly in company with Mr. F. W. Fenton, Financial Commissioner. The Inspection Note recorded in the village note book is an extract from the order determining the Assessment. First some general remarks concerning assessment are made and then the New Demand as originally fixed is recorded. Thus:

It was a capitalist's *mauza* at the tail of the Mullay Distributary. It was allowed *kharaba* which, it was recommended, it should continue to retain, though the Irrigation Department were taking steps to improve the supply (of water) and had already fitted a new head to the Mullay Distributary. The hope was expressed that much more might be done to develop the *mauza* by the grantees whose interest had only been quickened at the arrival of the new assessment. On the one hand, the opinion was recorded

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*(1) *Senji, Maina, Methra* were valued at Rs. 15|- per acre;

(2) *Chari, gowara,* lucerne, turnips, *sarshaf, taramira* and *jawi* were valued at Rs. 12|- per acre; and the remainder

(3) *Moth, mung, mash, jawar* and *sanwak* at Rs. 10|- per acre.

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that a high assessment was not called for, while on the other it was laid down that only those holdings which were definitely inferior to others needed differentiation with a view to greater moderation. It was noted that the tenants were mostly Jat Mussalmans whose capacities as cultivators were fair. Holdings were all large and grantees affluent. On an estimate of the whole position it was judged that third class rates could mostly be paid. Accordingly, the New Demand as originally fixed was as follows:—

NEW DEMAND.	*Nahri**	*Barani.*
Land Revenue per acre sown.	Rs. 5 0 0	Rs. 0 12 0
Malikana per acre assessed.	" 0 12 0	" 0 4 6
Cesses.	13.1|3 per cent of Land Revenue.	

Certain squares were, however, differentiated and assessed at a special rate lower than the general rate, being of an inferior quality. Thus:

Nahri Demand	
Land Revenue per acre sown.	Rs. 4 0 0
Malikana per acre Assessed.	" 0 12 0

Holding to holding *kharaba* was, however, to be allowed in case of both classes of squares.

The new assessment was to be introduced with effect from *Rabi* 1913, and was to be in force for a term of 20 years. The Government, however, reserved the right to introduce fixed assessments for land revenue or occupier's rate or both at any time compulsorily at rates which would produce a demand not exceeding that yielded by the fluctuating assessment announced on the 12th April, 1913.

Zemindars' Estimates and Opinion as to character of Harvests.

Table XII (page 33) indicates the character of the ten harvests during the last five years for the principal crops and the zemindars' estimates of the yields in maunds per acre for each crop and harvest.

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*By a subsequent order of the Commissioner, Lahore, this demand was reduced to Rs. 4-8-0 per acre.

Table XII.—Showing the Character of Last Five Harvests and Zemindars' Estimate of Yields.

Year and Harvest.		Crop.	Character of Harvests according to Zemindar's opinion.			Zemindars' estimate of Yields in maunds per Acre.		
			Chahi.	Nahri.	Barani.	Chahi.	Nahri.	Barani.
1927.	Kharif.	Kamad.		Average.			18	
		Cotton.		Below average.			3⅜	
		Bajra.		Below average.			7⅞	
1928.	Rabi.	Wheat.		Very Poor.			1⅛	
		Grams.		Below average.			9	
		Toria.		Good.			11¼	
”	Kharif.	Kamad.		Good.			26½	
		Cotton.		Average.			4½	
		Bajra.		Average.			9	
1929.	Rabi.	Wheat.		Good.			18	
		Grams.		Average.			13½	
		Toria.		Good.			10⅛	
”	Kharif.	Kamad.		Average.			18	
		Cotton.		Average.			4½	
		Bajra.		Average.			9	
1930.	Rabi.	Wheat.	Average.	Good.	Average.	11¼	16⅞	6¾
		Grams.		Good.			15¾	
		Toria.		Below Average.			7⅞	
”	Kharif.	Kamad.		Good.			26½	
		Cotton.		Average.			4½	
		Bajra.		Average.			9	
1931.	Rabi.	Wheat.	Average.	Average.	Average.	11¼	15¾	6¾
		Grams.		Good.			15¾	
		Toria.		Average.			9	
”	Kharif.	Kamad.		Good.			27	
		Cotton.		Good.			6¾	
		Bajra.		Much below average.			5⅜	
1932.	Rabi.	Wheat.	Average.	Below average.	Average.	11¼	13½	6¾
		Grams.		Good.			18	
		Toria.		Average.			9	

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In general it may be said that 24 maunds and above per acre is considered a good yield for *gur*, about 16 maunds is taken for an average yield and anything less as more or less below average. Similarly for cotton, 6 to 7 maunds is very good, about 4.1|2 maunds is average and less than that is regarded as below average. So also for wheat, 18 maunds is a good yield, while 16 maunds is average. Likewise for *toria*, 9 maunds is the average yield, while 7 maunds will be considered below average.

The estimates of the yields of principal crops for the ten harvests during the last five years were procured from an educated zemindar, who has a fair knowledge of English and accounting, who is an *ex-girdawar* and has a specially keen memory. His estimates of the yields given are the average per acre of the total produce of 6 squares of land. His view of the character of the harvests in general was corroborated by the *munshi* of the contractor of some other zemindars, who had been in the village, however, only for three years. Questions put to some old tenants could elicit little more than a general idea of the character of the harvests, which, however, tallied in the main with the results recorded above. There being only a few zemindars in the village, and most of them being absentees, I was at a disadvantage and had to confine my queries to a rather limited circle. But, as will have been seen, that does not in any way detract from the value of the results obtained.

One thing, however, is important. The squares of land, to which the estimates of average yield above recorded have reference are generally better cultivated on the whole than the rest of the village land, since they are under the personal supervision of a resident zemindar. The estmiates given above will, therefore, have to be slightly discounted (by about 10 per cent) to obtain the real average for the entire village.

Comparison with Remarks in Circle Note Book and Lal Kitab.

The remarks upon the general condition of the harvests in the Circle Note Book afford an interesting comparison with the zemindars' opinions:

1927	Rabi.	Below average.
	Kharif.	Good.
1928	Rabi.	Below average.
	Kharif.	No remark.
1929	Rabi.	Good.
	Kharif.	Good.
1930	Rabi.	Good.
	Kharif.	Average.
1931	Rabi.	Good.
	Kharif.	Good.

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While there appears to be a general agreement between the remarks in the Circle Note Book and the Zemindars' opinions, there emerges a marked divergence of views as to the condition of the *Kharif* harvest in 1927. For whereas the Circle Note Book remarks the character as good, the positive testimony of the zemindars runs quite counter to it: the harvest is average or below average. Here the Patwari's remarks in the village *Lal Kitab* come to our aid: *'halat fasal mamuli se niche'*—cause of *kharaba*, deficiency of water. This quite falls in with the zemindars' opinion; it may be that owing to the exigencies of the Irrigation Department, Haripur should have been particularly unfortunate in the matter of water supply, though the Rakh Branch on the whole may have been fairly well supplied. The Patwari's remarks, otherwise, correspond closely to the remarks in the Circle Note Book.

It might be of interest to know the results of crop experiments upon which the Settlement Officer has based his assumed yields for the assessment of revenue. The following table indicates the average yield of each crop, the area of crop experiment, and the number of harvests for which the experiment was carried on together with the Settlement Officer's assumed yields based on the experiments.

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APPENDIX TO CHAPTER III.

It might be of interest to know the results of crop experiments upon which the Settlement Officer has based his assumed yields for the assessment of revenue. The following table indicates the average yield of each crop, the area of crop experiment, and the number of harvests for which the experiment was carried on together with the Settlement Officer's assumed yields based on the experiments.

Table XVII.

Crop.	Area of Crop Experiment (Acres).	Number of Harvests.	Result of Experiment (Maunds)	Settlement Officer's Assumed Yields.
1. Wheat —	88	10	13·7	13
2. *Toris* —	42·5	7	8·7	7·5
3. Gram —	42·5	5	9·7	9
4. Barley —	5·7	5	13·2	13
5. Maize —	41·5	9	14·7	13
6. *Jowar* —	7·5	3	6·1	7
7. *Bajra* —	10·8	5	6·3	7
8. Cotton —	32·8	6	3·6	4
9. Sugar-cane —	29·3	8	18·2	18

CHAPTER IV.

RENTS.

Systems of Land Tenure and Tenancy:

The following statement classifies the land of the village according to the way in which it is held and cultivated:—

Table XIII—Statement Showing how the Cultivated Area is held and cultivated in Haripur.

	Total Cultivated area of the village.	Area Cultivated by Owners	Area Cultivated by Occupancy Tenants.	Area Cultivated by Tenants-at-Will.			
				Paying at Revenue Rates.	Paying at Batai Rates.	Paying Cash Rents.	Paying Other Rents.
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Holdings.	90	5	—	—	47	38	—
Acres. —	1298	56	—	—	886	356	—
Percentages —	*100*	*4·3*	—	—	*68·2*	*27·5*	—

A word is here necessary for a correct interpretation of the above statement. Broadly speaking, it is true that almost the entire area of the village is cultivated by tenants-at-will paying kind rents on the *batai* system. This fact is, however, disguised in the above table by the fairly large percentage of area *viz.*, 27.5, represented as cultivated by tenants-at-will paying cash rents. For, while these latter are, like the substantial farmers of England, cash lessees of fairly vast areas, termed *thekedars*, they do not cultivate all that area themselves or with the help of field labourers. But unlike the English farmer, they let the major portion further to tenants-at-will paying at batai rates. And as for the area represented as cultivated by owners, there are in fact no actual cultivating owners, or peasant proprietors in the village, but such of the big *zemindars* (and there are no others) as are resident on the land, in some cases, reserve a portion of the land to be cultivated under their personal supervision by the assistance of labourers.

There is no difficulty in obtaining tenants in the village.

Term of Tenancy:

The following statement indicates the period of tenancy on 20 plots selected at random. It has been prepared from an examination of the *khasra girdawri* of the last 10 years. Every cross (x) indicates a change of tenant. A star (*) indicates the resumption of cultivation by the owner. A cross, crossed by a horizontal line (x) after a star (*) indicates the reversion of the holding to the same tenant who cultivated the land prior to the resumption of cultivation by the owner.

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Statement Showing Change of Tenants on 20 Odd Plots.

Serial No.	1920-21 ;	1921-22 ;	1922-23 ;	1923-24 ;	1924-25 ;	1925-26 ;	1926-27 ;	1927-28 ;	1928-29 ;	1929-30 ;	1930-31 ;	1931-32.
1	—	×	×	×	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
2	—	×	×									
3	—	×	—	×	×	—	—	×	—	—	×	—
4	—	×	—									
		×	×	—	—	×	—	×	—	—	×	×
5			×									
6			×	•	—	—	×	—	×	—	—	—
7		×										
8		×	×	×	×		×			×		
9												
10		×		•		×		—			×	
11												
12			×	•	×	•	×	•	×		×	
13		×										
14	•		×	×	×		×	×	×		×	×
15	•	×	×									
				×	×	×	×	×	×			
16	•	×	×									
17			×	×	×	×		×	×	×	×	×
		×	×									
18				×	×	×		×		×		
19				×	×	×			—			×
20				×								

N. B.—The area of the plot is in each case 1 *killa* or 8 *kanals*, 18 *marlas*.

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The statement brings out that while there were frequent changes of tenants in the early years of the past decade, they have tended to become relatively more infrequent of late years. It is quite ordinary for a tenant to go on cultivating the same holding for two or three years on end, while cases in which one holding was cultivated by the same tenant for a still longer period, even so long as six years, are by no means rare. Indeed, even when a holding passes from one hand to another, it does not necessarily follow that a tenant has been dismissed. There is very often a re-distribution of holdings between different tenants. The conclusion, therefore, emerges that changes of tenants are, in general, infrequent.

Preference for Cash or Share Rents:

As has been remarked above, there are no actual cultivating tenants-at-will paying cash rents in the village. Big contractors, however, take cash leases of considerable areas which are sub-let to yearly tenants on a share system. The areas thus taken on cash lease include gardens with fruit trees, and are, at any rate, owned by big absentee landlords, who are naturally spared the inconveniences and risks of the share tenancy system, and have the satisfaction of pocketing a sure and safe return every year. Share tenancy is the universal custom of the village and commends itself to both tenants and landlords (particularly the resident ones) by its obvious merits of elasticity and flexibility. Both parties are co-sharers in plenty as well as in scarcity, recipients on an equal footing alike of nature's favours and her frowns. In the absence, however, of cash tenancy existing side by side with share tenancy, it was obviously difficult to elicit a positive expression of conscious preference by the tenants for the latter system. It is only when the alternative system exists that its merits and demerits are brought into clear relief against the advantages and disadvantages of the existing system. Share tenancy is rooted in the customary code that regulates the relations of tenant and landlord. The preference of the landlords and tenants for either system does not vary in general with the kind of crop or irrigation. The absentee landlords, however, prefer to have a cash payment for their share of the fodder crop grown by the tenant in addition to the *muafi* granted to him for his own use. Even the resident landlords in some cases reserve the right to demand a stipulated cash payment per *kanal* for their share of the fodder, in case they do not happen to require it. But, as the area under fodder as under every other crop is decided upon by mutual agreement, tacit or explicit, the need for cash payment does not usually arise in the case of resident landlords.

Cash Rents:

The following cash rents are paid on 356 acres of different classes of soils, calculated in accordance with Chapter XX of Douie's Settlement Manual ;—

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Table XIV—Showing Cash Rents Paid on Different Classes of Soil in Haripur.

Class.	Separate Soil Rents.			Lump Rents.			Total Rents.		
	Acres.	Rate.	Total Rent.	Acres.	Rate.	Total Rent.	Acres.	Rate.	Total Rent.
Barani	7	3-9-0	25	84	...	...	91	0-15-10	72-13-10
Nahri	5	107-9-6	838	260	...	...	265	24-1-5	6390-0-2
Total	12	71-13-8	863	344	16-4-6	5600	356	18-2-6	6463

This statement may, however, lead the unwary reader into a particularly awkward trap unless accompanied by a necessary warning. Cash rents, where they exist in sufficient quantity, are a very valuable assessment guide, since "they furnish evidence of the landlord's net assets and of the relative assessable values of different classes of land more direct and more certain than any that can be drawn from fluctuating kind returns." (Douie's Settlement Manual). But in the above statement the whole result is so vitiated as to be practically worthless as a basis for further calculations. For, in the *first* place, separate cash rates on different classes of soil in case of 344 acres of land producing ordinary staples are not available. Where they *are* available (in the case of 12 acres), the land paying cash rent does not satisfy the fundamental and essential postulate that it should be a fair average of its class: the 5 acres of land are garden area. And *secondly*, even were the separate cash rates on *nahri* and *barani* land, producing ordinary staples available, they would not be quite serviceable. For it is not the actual cultivating tenants who pay cash rents but big lessees of considerable areas, and the average cash rate per acre in their case need not, and, more often than not, does not bear any uniform or close relation to the average net assets, a large element of speculation entering into the payment in their case.

Cash Rents and Prices: i

The following table indicates changes in cash rents since 1911-12.

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Table XV—Statement Showing the Rise in Cash Rents in Haripur.

Year.		Area.		Total Rent.	Rent per Acre.		
					Rs.	a.	p.
1911-12	...	185	30	2410	11	3	4
1915-16	...	131	...	886	6	12	3
1920-21	...	440	18	9755	21	4	11
1924-25	...	221	106	5500	16	13	0
...		6	...	60	10	0	0
1928-29	...	5	...	838	107	9	6
...		...	7	25	3	9	0
...		260	84	5600	16	5	3

The remarks made in regard to the applicability for practical deductions of the statement in para 5 hold in a limited degree of the above statement also. The statement could be much more useful if the influence of the extraneous factor, the area under garden could be entirely eliminated, and if it were possible to ascertain severally the cash rents on different classes of soil.

No *zabti* rents are paid on any crop.

There is no case of an owner taking fixed grain rents irrespective of the state of the crop.

Advances to tenants:

As regards advances to tenants in cash or grain, conditions differ in the *five abadis* which comprise the village. In Nazirwala, the owners do not make any advances in cash or kind to the tenants, who, therefore, have resort to the *Khatri* money-lender whenever they stand in need of credit. So strictly, indeed, do the land-owners abstain from lending to their tenants that a case came under my notice when a tenant insistently asking for a loan of grain of one A. N., a *zemindar* was given one maund free. Another tenant who happened to be in bad straits the next day was thus deterred from asking anything of the owner and went direct to the *Khatri*.

In Tarewala and Labhgarh and Durlabhgarh, the conditions are vastly different, indeed quite the reverse. The tenants are so heavily in debt to the land-owners that at the time of the division of the crop, after the customary deductions from the common heap, almost the entire crop finds its way to the owner's granary. The tenants are allowed to retain an amount of grain which is just sufficient to last them for about three months. The tenants have, therefore, necessarily to borrow from the land-owner for seed, and even subsistence, and the tenant's part of the land revenue has also to be paid by the owner out of his own pocket.

The land revenue thus paid on the tenant's behalf is tantamount to a cash loan to the tenant; the loan of grain for seed and household consumption, when it is made, is also converted into money at current prices. These loans are returned in the form of grain at harvest time, but again this grain is converted into money at rates current at the time. All accounts are thus kept in terms of money. Interest is charged on all loans irrespective of their object, variously at *paisa rupaya* or 2 as. per rupee for 6 months, or at 18.3|4 per cent and 25 per cent per annum. An incidental result of this indebtedness is that the tenants, so long as they are in debt, are practically bound to the soil; for they cannot be evicted and cast adrift from the land to seek their fortune as they would. It is the landlord's personal interest to make the term of their tenancy long. This however results in bad tillage. The tenants in Nazirwala are better off on this account. They have also an appellate court in the landlord against the money-lender which is not the case in other *abadis*.

In "Haripur" and "Chak 6", conditions approximate to those in Nazirwala, in that the tenants are dependent for their requirements in respect of credit on the *Khatri Shah*., Land revenue is, however, often paid by the land-owners out of their own pocket and later deducted from the tenant's share of produce at harvest time, grain being converted into money.

Other Contractual and Customary Relations between Landlord and Tenant:

Assistance to Tenants: Conditions in regard to the assistance which the tenant receives from the land-owner by custom or contract, (terms of the *pata*) in such matters as site for house, material for building the house, grazinf, fuel, water, and natural products of the soil are broadly similar in all the five *abadis*, with certain minor variations. The tenants have an unrestricted right of grazing cattle on fallow land, or land from which the crop has been cut, be it cultivated by the owner himself, and they can have as much grass and other natural products of the soil as they need only for the cutting and carrying. There is an abundant growth of shrubs and bushes and tenants can gather fuel freely and they can collect small branches of

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kikkar trees only for the pruning. But the timber has to be left intact and cannot be touched without the owner's permission. The tenants get water freely for drinking and other domestic purposes from the wells and from the hand-pumps installed by the owners. The houses are built by the owners, and let free of rent (or as in "Chak 6" on a rent charge of Re. 1|- annually to the tenants).

The exercise of the above rights is strictly limited to the tenant's own use and he has no right of sale. Nothing in fact is actually sold.

As has been above remarked, the tenant has no right to the use of trees unless with the owner's permission. Thus the tenants may get from the owner timber for plough. All owners, however, do not allow this and the tenants may have to ask explicit permission of the owner even for cutting small branches of trees. This permission is, however, generally granted. The tenants plant no trees.

Tenants do not make any gift such as animal produce, milk, goat, eggs or poultry to owners.

Mutual Gifts:

Owners do not make any gift to tenants such as a feast at the principal holy day or after harvest. They do, however, requisition the services of tenants on special occasions such as a marriage and entertain them. This can, however, arise only in Nazirwala—all other land-owners are absentees. The only other resident owner, the *Mai Sardarni* of Tarewala, is an octagenarian bordering on ninety.

No feast is given to the labourers either by the owners or by the tenants at harvest time apart from the customary or stipulated payment in kind.

No instance can be found of any aid rendered to tenants to combat pests, such as locusts or rats. (But, of course, everybody, and the owner's boys themselves come forward with whatever comes handy and is likely to produce great tumult and scare away the swarm of locusts.)

Extra Services by Tenants:

The tenants in Nazirwala render certain odd domestic services to the owner from day to day *e.g.* reap and bring fodder and cut it for the owner; bring fuel; milk, graze and otherwise look after the owner's buffalo; and go to the Railway Station when necessary. On an occasion of marriage, they help by all means and in all sorts of ways—*e.g.* they collect milk for the owner from among themselves, gather fuel, bring materials from the *mandi*, take the owner's grain for grinding at the mill, escort persons to and from the railway station, ply their *gadda* for carrying the owner's wares etc., etc. In return, they partake of the feast that goes on for days together on this auspicious occasion. They are also given in return *muafi* of fodder crop at the rate of 2 *kanals* per plough and one acre *moth* (*kadha* in cotton crop), free timber for ploughs and other agricultural implements, besides money tips when they go to the station. The owners render help to the tenants in the form of fuel, milk, fodder, accommodation etc., on occasions of marriages etc., in the latter's family. The relations in fact are cordial.

Grazing is not included in the terms of tenancy here.

Arrangement as to Area and Kind of Crops:

'*Kasht hasb marzi malik muzaraya karega*' is an explicit condition of the *pata* in Nazirwala. Elsewhere also the kind and area of crops grown by the tenant, is usually a matter of mutual agreement between the tenant and owner. The owner can and sometimes does insist that *his* will and not the tenant's shall prevail, where the two happen to conflict.

Manure:

The owner does not claim any share of the manure; he has no use for it. He has wood for fuel, enough and to spare. As for dung dropped by cattle in the course of grazing, it lies where it drops, in the fields or on path-ways, to dry. If it is close enough to the *abadi*, the tenants' wives collect it and throw it on the dung-hill, which continually mounts higher, until it is removed to the fields as manure.

There are no conditions forbidding the cultivation of part of the land under tenancy, such as the reservation of land for grazing.

The owner has the right to visit the fields and view the crops; he often exhorts the tenants to be industrious, to prepare their fields properly for sowing, and sees that the reaping is done with due promptitude and despatch.

It is common enough for an owner to evict a tenant for bad cultivation and faulty rotation. This is, in fact, the usual reason for the eviction of a tenant.

B—BATAI RENTS.

Batai Rates and Payment of Land-Revenue:

The common rate of sharing the harvest between landlord and tenant, irrespective of the kind of crop or class of soil, is the half *batai* rate on canal and *barani* lands. On well irrigated land in Nazirwala the *batai* rate is: owner 2|5ths, tenant 3|5ths. This is the rate alike in the case of wheat, commercial crops such as sugar-cane and cotton, costly products such as tobacco, vegetables and chillies, fodder, *chari* and *senji* and *bajra*. The tenant does not grow fruit, obviously because the life of a fruit tree is longer than the term of his tenure.

The land-revenue, water-rate and local rate with *panchotra* which are a fluctuating levy varying with the area sown are all shared in the

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same proportion as the produce between the tenant and the landlord.

Additional Cesses Levied by the Landlord:

Besides their share of the produce, the landlords usually levy an additional cess variously known as the *malikana, dharat, haq zamindari* or *kharch,* varying from 1 seer per maund in Nazirwala, 2 seers per maund in "Chak 6" and "Haripur" and Labhgarh and Durlabhgarh, irrespective of class of soil, to 1 seer per maund in case of *nahri* land and 4 seers per maund for *barani* land in Tarewala.

Partition of the Crop:

Coming now to the actual division of the crop, the nature of the process of partition may be briefly indicated. The division takes place on the tenant's land where the entire crop is piled in a heap at some convenient and central place. The heap lies duly protected under a sheet, until the owner, with the tenant, the *kamins* and other claimants for a share from the common heap, together wit hthe *Khatri tolla* (weighman) arrive. The *Khatri* begins to weigh with a 5 seer weight, so that two equal heaps, one the tenant's and the other, the owner's, begin to rise. When the *tolla* judges that the bottom is approaching and not much grain is left, the *malikana* is first deducted, then the artisans' shares (those of the *Lohar* and *Tarkhan,* which have been shown elsewhere) are separated, the *lavas* have their stipulated payment per plough in grain and the *tolla* deducts his own remuneration, ¼ seer per maund (in Tarewala 5 seers per *bhol* or heap). What is left over is again divided equally between the tenant and the landowner. If, however, the residue is insufficient to meet all the above deductions, an equal amount is added to it from the tenant's and the owner's heap.

The tenant carries the owner's share to the latter's granary.

Payment of Menials:

Menials are paid not out of the common heap but by the tenant and owner separately from their own share, after the partition of crop has been effected. Their remuneration and position in the village economy is described elsewhere.

Payment for Threshing and for Reaping:

The tenant threshes the owner's share. The threshing is, in fact, done before the division takes place and is part of the regular work of the tenant before the act of partition at all takes place, and no separate payment is, therefore, made to the tenant for this work. Labour is sometimes hired to assist the tenant and in that case payment is made out of the common heap. The landlord's permission is, however, necessary in such a case. Much of the reaping is done by the tenants themselves, but as they are not able to get through all the work unaided, additional reapers

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or *lavas* are engaged. These are the *kamins* of the village or neighbouring villages (for there are few in the village itself), or seasonal labourers from other districts such as Sialkot or Gujrat who have their relatives settled here and who wander hither for a month or so in search of employment. A reaper can on the average reap a *killa* of crop in four days at the rate of some 2 *kanals* a day. For a day's work he gets one *bhari* of wheat, usually the biggest of all, containing from 15 to 18 seers of grain. There is a limit to the number of *lavas* which are allowed to be engaged per *hal* (usually 4) and the owner tries to get the tenant do most of the reaping himself. Gleaning is generally done by the women-folk of the *lavas* or tenants as the case might be; and some clever *lavas* purposely leave more stalks strewn in the way than they would if they performed the work carefully. This brings them an additional 2 seers of grain for a day's work. The tenant does not receive any dues for reaping.

Provision of Seed, Farming Implements and Stock:

According to the conditions of tenancy, it is the tenant who has to provide the seed as he has to provide the other implements and cattle necessary for the performance of his farming operations and he actually does provide it himself, on he borrows it of the land-owner. There is one exception, however. In the case of *ponda* sugar-cane the cost of seed is borne equally by the tenant and owner in Nazirwala. No deduction is made for seed, or any portion of it, from the common heap before sharing. In case, however, a tenant has borrowed seed from the land-owner, the money equivalent at rates then current of the amount of seed borrowed is debited to the tenant's account, and interest is charged on this amount as on any other loan of money at *paisa rupaya* or 18.3|4 per cent. At the time of the harvest, the grain equivalent of the money amount (principal *plus* interest) is deducted from the tenant's share (not the common heap). All accounts between the tenant and the landlord are in fact kept in cash,—a curious anamoly, it might appear, beside the almost universal prevalence of the kind tenancy system! But it is there.

Sharing of Fodder and Straw:

There is a general custom of granting 2 *kanals* per plough as *chara muafi* (remission fodder). The fodder grown on this area is not subject to partition: it belongs to the tenant. (In Tarewala, however, no *muafi* for fodder is given). Fodder produced over and above that on the area thus remitted is, however, equally divided between the tenant and the owner, irrespective of its kind.

Landlords who are absentees get a stipulated cash payment for their share of the fodder grown in addition to that on the exempted area. Thus in "Haripur" and "Chak 6" the fodder is reckoned as worth Rs. 10|- per *nal*, and the owner, therefore, gets Rs. 5|- per every additional *kanal* of fodder grown. The resident landlords also reserve a right to demand money payment, but usually get their share and sell it, if they do not happen to require all.

The landlord does not allow any concession on account of vegetables or other produce to the tenant for his own household use; invariably every kind of produce is equally divided between the tenant and himself. Even a catch crop such as *senji* after cotton, or melons after wheat is equally shared.

The tenant does not make any gift of animal produce to the owner in return for the concession for fodder where it is granted. But such slight personal services as the tenants for instance, in Nazirwala perform from day to day for the owner, are regarded as performed in return for the concession of fodder. The *mai Sardarni*, who has her own domestic servants and field labourers to do the sundry odd jobs for her, grants no *muafi* for *pathha*.

As for the rates of sharing straw, wheat and gram straw is divided equally between the tenant and landlord, the ubiquitous rate of sharing for all crops irrespective of kind, class or colour. The cotton straw or *manchitti* which keeps standing while the cotton has been gathered and divided, is taken by the tenant, who uses it as a favourite fuel for his *tanoor* or oven. The stalks of maize are separated from the cobs and the cobs alone are divided, while the stalks are used as fuel, or dry and rot and are shuffled on to the scrap heap to be later used as manure. So the green cane straw or *ags* go to whoever reaps the canes of sugar, as payment for reaping, be it the tenant himself or anyone else who does it, and serves as excellent fodder. The dry cane straw or *chhoi* is of no material worth; much of it lies uncared for in the fields, mingles with the moisture of the winter dew, is decomposed and enriches the soil. It also serves as a floor and bedding for cattle in the winter and being light and combustible serves to warm the tenants by its rich radiant flush of heat against the icy winds of the *bar*.

The tenant cannot sell any fodder or straw off the land before partition has taken place.

Area and Kind of Fodder Crops:

The landlord does not expressly impose any conditions regarding the area or kind of fodder crops to be grown. However, the fact that the absentee landlord demands a money payment for his share of the fodder and the resident landlord reserves to himself the right to demand a money payment imposes in practice a very definite limit to the area though not the kind of fodder crops which are usually grown by the tenant.

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No Variations in the Batai Rate:

The universal and ubiquitous *batai* rate (½), has continued ever the same and shows no change as far back as the village *Lal Kitab* carries us *i.e.* 1900.

Mortgagees do not charge different rates of *batai* for owners.

Term of the Batai Tenure:

All *batai* tenures run from year to year. In actual practice, a tenant continues to hold and cultivate a certain plot for several years on end, but the lease lapses every year and the *pata* or term of tenancy has, therefore, to be renewed year after year. The owner is, however, perfectly at liberty to evict the tenant at the end of the year; and the tenant is legally bound to signify his inability to cultivate a holding on the occasion of the *Lohri* festival which comes off about the middle of January every year. But he cannot quit the holding before harvesting the *rabi* crop. This means that he cannot take charge of his new land in time to sow the next *kharif* crop and is therefore likely to find the land empty on his hands for some months. A change of tenancy, therefore, involves considerable hardship, and it is generally in the tenant's interest to stick to his lord.

Sub-letting by Share Tenants:

There is no instance of a share-tenant sub-letting to another. The share-tenant has no right to sub-let, which the owner reserves to himself when letting his land.

The appended table shows the crops grown on each of ten holdings for the last five years or ten harvests. The area of the holding is in each case 1 *killa* or 8 *kanals* and 18 *marlas*; they are all irrigated by canal.

Below is worked out the tenant's or landlord's money income in each of the last five years from a field of one acre, for the five principal crops of the village :—

[Table]

Table XVI—Showing Tenant's or Landlord's Money Income during last five years from a one Acre Field for five Principal Crops.

SUGAR CANE.

	1927	1928	1929	1930	1931
Yield per Acre (In mds.) ...	18	26½	18	26½	27
	Rs. as.	Rs. as.	Rs. as.	Rs. as.	Rs. as.
Actual sale price per maund ...	4 8	4 0	3 8	3 0	2 0
Total money-value of crop ...	81 0	106 0	63 0	79 8	54 0
Tenant's or landlord's money-income ...	40 8	53 0	31 8	39 12	27 0

COTTON.

	1927	1928	1929	1930	1931
Yield per Acre (in-mds.) ...	3⅜	4½	4½	½	6¾
	Rs. as.	Rs. as.	Rs. as.	Rs. as.	Rs. as.
Actual sale price per maund ...	10 0	9 0	6 0	7 0	8 0
Total money value of crops ...	33 12	40 8	27 0	31 8	54 0
Tenant's or landlord's money-income ...	16 14	20 4	13 8	15 12	27 0

WHEAT.

	1927-28	1928-29	1929-30	1930-31	1931-32
Yield per Acre in maunds	1⅛	18	16⅞	15¾	13½
	Rs. a. p.	Rs. a. p.	Rs. a. p.	Rs. a. p.	Rs. a. p.
Actual sale price per maund.	4 8 0	4 2 0	2 10 0	1 2 6	2 8 0
Total money-value of crop	5 1 0	74 4 0	44 4 9	18 3 4½	33 12 0
Tenant's or landlord's money-income	2 8 6	37 2 0	22 2 4½	9 1 8¼	16 14 0

TORIA.

Yield per acre in maunds.	11¼	10⅛	7⅞	9	9
	Rs. a. p.	Rs. a. p	Rs. a. p.	Rs. a. p.	Rs. a. p.
Actual sale price per maund	5 4 0	5 0 0	4 2 0	3 8 0	3 8 0
Total money-value of crop	59 1 0	50 10 0	32 7 9	31 8 0	31 8 0
Tenant's or landlord's money-income	29 8 6	25 5 0	16 3 10	15 12 0	15 12 0

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Yield per acre in maunds	9	13½	15¾	15¾	18
	Rs. a. p.	Rs. a. p.	Rs. a. p.	Rs. a. p.	Rs. a. p.
Actual sale price per maund	4 0 0	3 12 0	2 12 0	1 12 6	1 10 0
Total money-value of crop	36 0 0	51 10 0	43 5 0	27 9 0	29 4 0
Tenant's or landlord's money-income	18 0 0	25 13 0	21 6 6	13 12 6	14 10 0

APPENDIX TO CHAPTER IV.

I

The following table shows the actual sale prices of staples grown and sold in the village, for the last 5 years. The prices are those of crops sold at Nazirwala.

Table XVIII—Showing Actual Sale Prices of Principal Crops from 1927-28 to 1931-32 at Nazirwala.

Crop.	1927-28	1928-29.	1929-30.	1930-31.	1931-32.
	Rs. as. p.	Rs. as. p.	Rs. as. p.	Rs. as. p.	Rs. as. p.
Rabi.					
Wheat	4 8 0	4 2 0	2 10 0	1 2 6	2 8 0
Grams	4 0 0	3 12 0	2 12 0	1 12 0 2 0 0	1 10 0
Toria	5 4 0	5 0 0	4 2 0	3 8 0	3 8 0
Barley	—	—	—	—	1 8 0
Kharif.					
Gur	4 8 0	4 0 0	3 8 0	3 0 0	2 0 0
Cotton	10 0 0	9 0 0	6 0 0	Desi 6 0 0	6 8 0
				Mixed 6 8 0	7 0 0
				American 7 0 0	8 0 0
Bajra	4 0 0	3 0 0	1 12 0	1 0 0	1 8 0

APPENDIX TO CHAPTER IV.

II

The following table indicates the prices of Principal crops as recorded in the Circle Note Book for the last five years, 1927 to 1931.

Table XIX—Showing Rakh Branch Circle Prices of Principal Crops for the years 1927-31 in seers per rupee.

CROP.	1927	1928	1929	1930	1931
Kharif.					
Bajra ...	11½	8	11	30	29
Maize ...	12½	9	13	31	27
Sugar Cane ...	8	8½	8½	12½	14
Cotton American ..	3	3	4	7½	$5\frac{9}{16}$
Cotton *Desi* ..	3½	$3\frac{14}{16}$	5¾	10	$6\frac{10}{16}$
San ...	3½	4	4½	6	6½
Chari (per kanal) ...	Rs. 7-0	Rs. 6-0	Rs. 5-0	Rs. 9-0	Rs. 3-0
Rabi.					
Wheat ..	10	10	10½	16½	33
Barley ...	13½	13½	13	22	37½
Grams ...	11	10½	9¾	13	27
Wheat and Grams ...	10½	12	10	14½	30½
Masar ...	10	10	10	12½	26½
Taramira —	7½	8	7½	9½	16
Toria —	6	6	$6\frac{14}{16}$	8⅛	13